

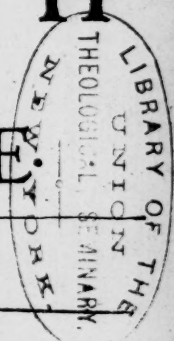
THE
FREE-BORN SUBJECT:
OR, THE
Englishmans
BIRTHRIGHT:
Asserted against all
TYRANNICAL USURPATIONS
EITHER IN
CHURCH
OR
STATE.

By *Roger L' Estrange.*

The Third Edition.

L O N D O N,

Printed for *Henry Brome*, at the *Gun* in *St. Pauls*
Church-yard, at the *West end*, 1 6 8 1.



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THE
FREE-BORN SUBJECT;

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The Englishmans Birthright:

Asserted against all *Tyrannical Usurpations*, either in
RELIGION or *STATE*.

NOW to take my Text to pieces; by a *free-born Subject*, is meant a person that is born under the Protection of the *Law*; and thereby entitled to certain known *Immunities* and *Privileges*, as his *Birthright*. But then he is likewise tied up, by the same *Law*, to certain *Rules* and *Measures* of *Obedience* to *Government*. So that he seems to be *Free* in one respect; and *Subject* in another. Now how far he is *Enfranchised* by this *Liberty*, and how far *Limited* by that *Subjection*, will be the *Question*.

You shall seldom or never find this expression used, but as a kind of *Popular Challenge*; and still in favour of the *free-born*, without any regard at all to the *Subject*. Whereas we should as well consider the *Authority* of an *Imperial Prince* on the one hand; as the *Privileges* of a *Free-born People* on the other. And not so far mistake, either the *Force* or the *Intent* of *Magna Charta*, and the *Petition of Right*; (by which we lay claim to these *Liberties*) as if by being discharged of our *Vassalage*, we were also discharged of our *Allegiance*.

The *Englishmans Birthright* sounds much to the same purpose too, with the *free-born Subject*; Only there lies a stronger *Emphasis* (in *Common Speech*) upon the word *Englishman*. As when we speak of a *Brave Man*, that stands up for

the Honour and Defence of his Country; such a one, we cry, is a *Right Englishman*, a *True Englishman*.

Now to the end that we may not be misled by the Sound and Jingle of Words, into a false, and dangerous Notion of Things; let us repair to the *Law*, which is the *Known*, and *Common Standard* of our *Civil Actions*: that we may not either give up our Own just Rights on the One hand, or encroach upon his Majesties, on the Other. For it is the *Law* that marks out the *Metes* and *Bounds* both of *King* and *People*: that shews how far we are to *Go*, and where to *Stop*; and teaches us to distinguish betwixt *Liberty* and *Sedition*; Betwixt a *True*, *Right Old Englishman*, and a *shuffling*, *double-hearted*, *modern Impostor*.

As we have our *Legal Rights*, so we lie under *Legal Restrictions* too: And the *King* likewise hath his *Legal Prerogatives*, which are also accompanied with certain *Legal Limitations*. From whence it appears, that the *Law* serves as a *Common Rule* and lies as a *Common Obligation* both upon *Prince* and *Subject*.

And yet though there be a *Duty* Incumbent on both sides, there is a great difference even in point of *Law* it self, betwixt the *Kings* violation of the *Law*, and the *Peoples*. The *King* breaks his *Word*, the *People* forfeit their *Bond*. They are *Both* of them *Bound* alike in *Conscience*; but the *People* are over and above engaged upon a *Penalty*. It makes a *Huge* noise in the *World*, that *Kings* are bound by the *Laws* as well as the *People*. And so they are in *Honour* and *Conscience*, but no further: And this arises from the very *Nature* of *Government* it self: For wheresoever the *Last appeal* lies, there rests the *Government*. And there can be no *Government* at all, without the *Establishment* of a *Final Result*, for otherwise the *King* shall *Judge* the *People* and the *People* *Rejudge* the *King*; and so the *Controversie* shall run round world without end. Take notice now that all *Appeals* move from a *Lower Court*, or *Sentence*, to a *Superiour*; and consider then how ridiculous it were to *Appeal* *Downward*; or from *Sovereign Princes*, to any other *Power*, than to the *King of Kings*, who alone is above them.

But let us put the *Case* now, that a *Prince* mis-governs: *How*
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shall he be tryed? It must be either By the Law or Without it. If the Former, where is the Law that says, The People may call their Sovereign to account, in case he does not Govern according to Law? Or if they cannot produce such a Law, the Assertion is Treasonous. If the Latter, we are at our Old Salus Populi again: Which, in one word, is no other than a direct Dissolution of the Law, and a Prostitution of Authority to the Will of the Multitude.

Having already stated the Conditions, and advantages of a *Free-born Subject*, and of our *English Birthrights*: we shall now proceed to the asserting of these our Priviledges, against all **Tyrannical usurpations**, either in matter of Religion or state. And first a word of **Tyrannical usurpations**.

Under this Head may be comprised all sorts of *Violence and Oppression*; (by what means, or Instruments soever exercised) contrary to *Law and Justice*. By *Tyranny*, we do understand *An Unjust Domination*; or an *Abuse of a Lawful Power, to the injury of the People*: as if a Prince should turn a *Legal Government* into an *Arbitrary*. Now we commonly reckon That for an *Usurpation*, when *One man takes upon him the Right of another, without any Title to it at all*: As our late *Oliver* was called *Usurper*. And there are also *Mixt Cases*; (as was That before mentioned) where *Tyranny and Usurpation meet Both in One*.

According to This Division we may be oppressed three several ways; either *Immediately* by the *Prince* himself; or *Mediately* by his *Ministers*, as by special Direction and Command; Or otherwise we may be simply oppressed, *one Subject by another*. But still these *Oppressions* are *Illegal* every way; and the Question is now, what *Legal Relief* in the Case? For as the *Law* entitles us to the *Priviledges* we claim, and to the enjoyment of them: so does the *Law* likewise appoint, and chalk us out the *Methods of Asserting and maintaining our Rights*, in case they be invaded. So that we must only Oppose *Legal Remedies* to *Illegal wrongs*; and not think to deliver our selves from one *Violence* by another. For *Popular Commotions* are the most *Criminal and Dangerous* of all sorts of *Oppressions*. Other *Op-*
pressions.

pressions may lie Heavy upon *particular Persons*; but *This* is an *Oppression* of *Law* and *Government* it self. And it is as *Foolish* as it is *Impious*; For while we *Phanſie* all things to be *Lawful* for us, because we suffer many things *againſt Law*, we incur a *Legal Forfeiture* of all our *Privileges*, by the *unlawful manner* of endeavouring to preserve them.

It is a *Maxim* in *Law*, but not in *Morals*, that *the King can do no wrong*; for he may shed *Innocent Blood* with his own hand, which is the *Greatest of Wrongs*; but it is not looked upon however as a *Wrong* in *Law*, because there is no *Law* to question him for it. The Ordinary shift upon this Point is, *That the King may be ſued, and that conſequently he ſtands answerable to the Law*. To which I ſay, with a *Diſtinction*, that the *King* hath a *Twofold Right*, a *Right of Dominion*, and a *Right of Propriety*. In the *Former* (which is the point in *Question*) there lies no *Action* of *Law*: In the other there may, for otherwise he might take away any mans *Free-hold* at pleasure. And were it not a wild thing to imagine otherwise, when according to the very *Stile* of the *Law*, all *Writs, Tryals, and Forms of Juſtice* run in the *Kings Name*? So that admitting their Suppoſition, *the King ſits Judge upon himſelf*.

When the late Underminers of the Government found that they could not ſhake the *Royal Authority* *this way*, (for it was attempted) they had recourse afterward to the *Phanſie* of a *Coordinate Government*; making the *King, Lords, and Commons*, to be the *Three Eſtates*; in ſtead of the *Lords Spiritual and Temporal*; and the *Commons* represented in *Parliament*. Which miſtake being ſwallowed by the Undiſcerning *Multi-tude*, proved the *Foundation* of our *Common Ruin*. This *Whimſie* being now ſet on foot again, I ſhall beſtow a *Word* or two upon the *Unmasking* of that pernicious and ſenſleſs *Pretence*, and make it appear, that the *Position* is *Deſtructive*, not only of the *Three Eſtates*, (as ſome account them) but of the very *Being* of *Parliaments*.

Suppoſing the Government to be *Coordinate*, (as theſe People will have it) any *two parts* of the *three* may *Out* the *third*. The *King* lies at the *Mercy* of the *Lords* and *Commons*; the
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Commons at the Mercy of the *King* and the *Lords*; and the *Lords* as much at the Mercy of the *King* and *Commons*. So that at this rate no body knows to day, what Government we shall have to morrow. This is the Just *Ratio* of a *Coordinate State*; and then to colour the Invention, they tell us that the *King* is *Singulis Major, Universis Minor*; Greater than the *Diffusive Body of the People*, but *Inferiour* to the *Collective*. Which strikes at the very Root of *Parliaments*; for if it be True, that a *Prince* by calling of a *Parliament* dethrones himself; what *Prince* would ever call a *Parliament*?

As it is clear that *Sovereign Power* is *Sacred*, and not to be Touched; it is no less Clear on the other side, that all the *Executors of Illegal Powers* and *Violences* may be questioned; for that the *Law* puts no difference betwixt one *Subject* and another, but provides for *Common Justice* betwixt man and man, without any difference of regard to *Dignities* or *Persons*. And as it appoints us such a *Relief* in such and such *Cases*; so does it likewise ordain and direct such and such *Punishments* in other *Cases*, according as the wisdom of the *Law-makers* hath found convenient. So that he is upon his *Good behaviour*, either for *Redress*, or *Punishment*.

But I hear many people say, that 'tis True, the *Law* provides well enough for us; but what if *Justice* be overaw'd and obstructed? My answer is, that we are to help our selves by *Law*, if we can; but if the *Law* will not relieve us, we must be *Patient*; especially in a *Case*, where 'tis impossible to find a *Remedy* that is not worse than the *Disease*. Let us but look a little into the Consequences of passing That Line, and taking upon us to be our Own Carvers; First, by Transgressing the *Bounds* of the *Law*; we cast our selves out of the *Protection* of it: Secondly, by declining the *Common Equity* of it, we run into *Partialities* and *Factions*, and every man makes himself both *Judge* and *Party*. Thirdly, from a *Certain* and *Infallible* Provision for the *stating* and *Determining* of all *Controversies*, we transport our selves into an *Absolute Impossibility* of ever *Reconciling* them, I might have said, of *Understanding* them: For Fourthly; from matter of *Fact*, we betake our selves to *Questions* and *Propositions*.

positions of Notion; as the Law of Nature, Self-preservation, &c. which signifie nothing more, than to puzzle the Multitude, and confound the Order of Civil Administration. For there can be no Proof made of a Thought; but under Countenance of These Blinds, the Ambitious, the Revengeful, the Necessitous, the Factious, the Covetous, the Malicious, and the like, Stalk to their Unrighteous and Self Ends. And what's the Issue of all This, but that, when by Coveting more than did belong to us, we have lost what we had: when by forsaking the Known, and the Safe ways of Peace and Justice, we have wandered out our Lives in Pathless, Dangerous, and Uncomfortable Errors; without either Light or Guide to set us right again: When we have been led by a False Shew of Liberty, as by an Ignis Fatuus, through Bogs and Ditches, and all in pursuit of a Sluttyish Vapour: When by breaking the Bond of Humane Society, we have turned a Community into a Desert; and like Wild Beasts, torn one another to pieces: What is the fruit at last of all our Wild Adventures? but Bondage, Beggery, Shame, and Late Repentance? So that our Best and Surest way will be, for every man to look to his Own Province, without intermedling in the Jurisdiction of Another.

Having sufficiently discoursed upon the *Quality* of *Tyrannical Usurpations*, we come now to *Religion* and *State*, as the *Subject matter* they are to work upon: Wherein we shall Distinguish betwixt *Tyranny*, as an Act of the *Government*; and *Usurpation*, as a claim of the *People*.

Touching the *Power of Kings*, and the *Possibility* of *Tyranny*, in the matter of *Religion*; the *Question* falls into a very narrow Compass: for *Conscience* lies out of the Reach of *Law*; And the *Powers of Government* are only exercised upon *Overt* and *Sensible Acts*. But the point in hand however is This: First, *What is intended by the Tyranny here spoken of?* Secondly, *How are we to behave our selves, in case of such Tyranny?*

There may be *Tyranny*, either in forcing a man, (upon a *Penalty*) to *Renounce* the *Right Religion*, or to *Embrace* a *False One*: Or in *Prohibiting* to any man, the *Freedom of Worship* after his own way. And all these Cases vary according to the

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Constitution of the Government, and the Conscience of the Governour. For the same thing may be Lawful in One place; and not in Another; and to One Person too, and not to Another: And it may be more or less Excusable also, according to these Circumstances. In short; It is a Tyranny, to press a man to a False Worship; A Tyranny to punish him for adhering to a True one; A Tyranny to hinder any man from Worshipping God as he Ought: And the Tyranny it self, is yet farther aggravated, if it be done in Opposition to the Law of the Land; And to the Conscience of the Ruler, as well as to Common Equity. But still when I have lost Liberty, Estate, nay and Life it self, by reason of Religion; my Religion it self is preserved Inviolable, even when my Body lies in Ashes. The Prince that Acts all these Tyrannies, hath undoubtedly a great deal to answer for to Almighty God: But what Remedy is there for the Subject that Suffers them? and let That be the next Point.

In Case of such Persecutions as aforesaid, I know no more than these Four ways of Application, for Relief; Either by Prayer to Almighty God; by Recourse to the Law, for Protection; by Petition to the Government, for Indulgence, and Compassion; Or else, to trie if we can deliver our selves by Direct Force.

The First, is a sure Expedient in all Cases: for where we are not Delivered from our Afflictions, our Afflictions are yet, by Gods Providence, turned into Comforts. In the Second place, we may make the best of the Law, provided that we do not make the Law Felo de se, and raise Inferences of Equitable Supposition, in Contradiction to the Naked and Express Letter of it. As for Example; by the Law, we have a Lawful Right to such and such Liberties; and herein we have the Law to Friend. But if we make any attempt to compass these Lawful Ends by unlawful means, the Law is point-blank against us.

Our Next Resort is, by Petition to the Government; which is a Course, Laudable and fair; provided we keep clear of Rancour and Clamour; and address to the Magistrate not to the Multitude: For it is not the End of those Popular Papers to Solicit relief, but to Provok Tumults; and under the Coun-

tenance of begging *Compassion* toward the *People*, to stir up *Sedition* against the *Government*. For *Lewd Characters* of Men breed *ill thoughts* of them; and *Evil thoughts* break out into *Wicked Actions*; and the readiest way in the *World* to a *Rebellion* is, to startle the *Vulgar* with an *Apprehension* of *Tyranny*. If all this will not do, there remains nothing more, but either *Patience* or *Force*. The *Former* was of the *Primitive*, and the *Latter* hath been the practice of our *Modern Christians*; but whether they do *Well* or *ill* in it, shall be now examined.

It hath done a great deal of *Mischief* in the *World*, the *Misconstruction* of that *Text* that bids us *Obeys God rather than Man*. For the *People* are not well aware, that, *First*, in *Obeys* of *Magistrates* in all *Warrantable Cases*, they *Obeys God* also, in that *Civil obedience*. *Secondly*, Supposing the *Command* of the *Supreme Magistrate* to be directly *Opposite* to the *Express Will* of *God*, I will not *Obeys* him in *that Case*, but I am not yet discharged of my *Duty* to him in *Other Cases*: for he is nevertheless a *Lawful Magistrate*; (even for not being a *Christian*) and I will not *Resist* him in *Any*. *Thirdly*, the *Law* of *this Nation* makes all *Motions* and *Insurrections* whatsoever, without *Legal Authority*, to be *Riotous*, *Seditious*, or *Treasonous Assemblies*. *Fourthly*, Allowing this *Latitude* to the *people*, that they may *Confederate*, and *Rise*, for the *Defense* of *Religion*; they may as well rise for the *Subversion* of it: for we have but their *bare Words*, either for the *One*, or for the *Other*. *Fifthly*, It *Authorizes* every man to set up a *Church* by himself, in his own *phantasy*; and in stead of carrying his *Body* to the *Doctor* for a *Fir* of the *Spleen*, he brings his *Conscience*, forsooth, to the *Government*, to be cured of a *Revelation*. And this *Licence*, in one word, sets up the *Crotchet* of every *Sickly Brain*, in *Competition* with *Christianity* it self, and the *Politique peace*.

What if I should say now, that there was never any *War* in the *World* undertaken purely upon the account of *Religion*, that was not utterly *Unlawful*; unless in *Cases* of *Gods Extraordinary* and *peculiar Dispensations*. For, *First*, What are the *Certain* and *Necessary Effects* of war, but *Bloud*, *Rapine*, *Oppression*; the *Multiplying* of so many *Widows* and *Orphans*;

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Depopulating of Countries, and Kingdoms; and the Violation of all Rights, Sacred and prophane; Are these now the Works of the Gospel? And what is Religion the better for all this? These are Sacrifices for Moloch; and this is a Religion, and an Oblation, fitter for an Insensible and Implacable Idol, than for the God of Love and peace.

Let us but consider now, what a Deluge of *Impiety* flows in upon *Humane Nature* with *this Opinion*. The *Papist* falls foul upon the *Protestant*; the *Protestant* upon the *Papist*; the *Christian* upon the *Mahumetan*, the *Mahumetan* upon the *Christian*: It sets all people, and all parties together by the Ears, only for *diversity* of Thoughts. It makes *Authority* Ridiculous, it frustrates the very *Laws* of *Nations*, and lays the World again in *Common*. Now if This be so Pesticilent a Doctrine, taken only at *Large*; How much more Diabolical is it, for *Subjects*, upon This *Ungodly pretext*, to go about to *Embroyl* a well Regulated State; and to charge their Souls with *perjury*, *Schism*, and *Rebellion*, over and above the *Common Crimes* that accompany *Hostile Invasions*.

As the *Law* hath been *hitherto*, so it must be *henceforward* the *Rule* and *Measure* of all our Proceedings. In the *Section of Tyranny*, the *Question* was; *How the Subject should demean himself toward the Prince, in the Case of such and such Oppressions in matter of Religion*. But now, in *Case of an Usurpation*, the *Question* is, *How far the Government should comply with a Popular Importunity; or how far the People should gratifie one another*. Of which we have spoken so much at large elsewhere, that the less will serve in this place.

The Word *Usurpation*, implies the *Affecting* or *Invasion* of *Another's Right*; which in the point of *Religion*, must needs be very *Dangerous*; because the People are so easily disposed to swallow that *Deadly Pill*. I do not reckon a bare and simple *Dissent* from the *Established Doctrine* and *Discipline* of the Church, to be an *Usurpation*: For possibly there may be a *Real Scruple*, or want of *due Information* in the Case. But when That *Dissent* comes to be *Practical*; when it comes to make *Parties* to *Divide* into *Sects*, to *Plead* and to *Challenge*

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the *Law*; it is no longer a *Plea of Conscience*, but a direct *Conspiracy* against the *Government*. It is a *Nursery of Heresies*; over and above; and a *Liberty*, utterly *Inconsistent* with the Measures of *political Justice* and *prudence*. For *First*; They Agree among themselves in the single point only of *Departing from Us*; And they are not, in *Conjunction*, more dissatisfied with our *Ecclesiastical Laws* and *Decrees*, than they are *severally*, among themselves, *one Sect* with *another*. So that it is, in this respect, impossible to please them. And *secondly*, It is no less dangerous to offer at it, in *other Considerations*. For *First*, upon the *Current of long and constant Experience*, they have been always found *Insatiable*: Never esteeming what they had, to be *Enough*, till they had gotten *All*. The late King gave them still more and more; and the more he *Gave*, the more they *Craved*; and turned his *Bounty*, at last, to his *Destruction*. He did effectually, in favour of their *Importunities*, Strip himself, to his *Revenue*, his *Crown*, and his *Life*; and all *That*, They took. Another danger is; that the *very men that ask a Toleration*, are *Principled against it*. And I see not the least shadow of a reason, why they that will not *Tolerate others*, should be *Tolerated themselves*. And truly as little Ground for the *Asking* of it, as for the *Granting* of it. For *First*, Why should the *Unity of the Church* be broken, and the *peace* of it disturbed, in favour of the *Enemies* of it; and to the *Discouragement* of the *Churches Friends*? *Secondly*, As the *Act of Uniformity* hath the full and solemn Complement of a *Binding Law*; why may they not as well demand a *Dispensation* for *Rebellion*, as for *Schism*? And quarrel any other *Law*, nay, one after another, the *whole Body of the Law*, as well as *That*? The *Law* is the *Established Rule* of our *Actions*; and they will have every *inwandring phansie* to be a *Rule* to the *Law*. They themselves fly from the *Law*, and their Complaint is, that the *Law* doth not follow them. This Method frustrates the very *Order of Providence*, and makes all Provisions of *Government* to be *Vain* and *Useless*. They cannot pretend to Charge this *Law* with any *Defect*, in regard either of the *Civil*, or the *Ecclesiastical Authority* of it. Here is, *First*, The *Judgment of the Church* duly
Conven'd,

Conven'd, Touching the meetness and convenience of the Rites and Forms therein Contained. Secondly, There is the Royal Sanction, Approving, and Authorizing those Rites and Forms; and requiring our Exact Obedience to them. Thirdly, The matter of the Law here in question, is our own Act; for that we our selves are Concluded in the Vote of our Representatives. Against These Usurpations we have Law enough: And so we have likewise against those that follow in Matter of State: which may be reduced to Usurpations upon us, in matter of Life, Liberty, or Estate.

There is an *Usurpation* upon the *Magistrate*; and there is an *Usurpation* upon the *Subject*: Upon the *Former* in respect either of *Title*, or of *power*; both which Cases are *Determinable*, and *Relievable* by the *Law*: And so also is any *Oppression* upon the *Subject*: That is to say, where one *Subject* oppresses Another. When I say *Determinable* and *relievable* by *Law*, my meaning is, that the *Law* hath competently provided for the *Freedom* and *Security* both of *King* and *People*: And the *remedy* seldom fails, where it is *Seasonably applyed*, and *Vigorously pursued*.

But when the *Dignity* of *Government* may be vilified *Gratis*, the *Kings Ministers* and *Friends* belpattered with *Billingsgate Libels*, and his *professed Enemies* supported and encouraged: when his *Majesties Title* as well as his *Prerogative* and *Reputation*, shall come to be the subject of every *Bawling Pamphlet*; and the *Bounds of Sovereign power* to be debated by *Porters and Carmen*, over *Pots of Ale*: when not only the *Reverend* and *Lawful Ministers*, and the *Apostolical Order* of the *Church*, shall be *Derided* and *Despised*; but *Religion* it self pass only for a *Sham*, a piece of *Priest Craft*; and be published in *Print*, for no more in effect than a *political Art* of getting a *Hank upon the people*: When such *Outrages*, I say, as These come to be daily committed over and over, in the very face of the *Sun*, and the *Laws* suffered to *Sleep*, that should *repress*, and *punish* them: what can be the *Event* of This *Inhumane License*, but *Confusion*, and *Ruine*? And if it comes to That once, it was our *Own fault*, for not putting a *Timely* and a *Legal Stop* to These *Audacious Usurpations*. The

The *positions* and the *Methods* that brought on our late Troubles, are now Revived and Practised every day afresh: We have our *Quarries*, our *Remonstrances*, and all things, to the Old Tune of *Curse ye Meroz*, and to your *Tents, O Israel*: most manifestly tending to the Unhinging of the *Government*; and as certainly designing the *Subversion* of the *Church* and of the *State*. The *Boldness* and the *Impunity* of these Libels, would be an equal Wonder to me, if I were not satisfied, that the *One* is clearly the *Effect* of the *Other*: For their elcaping punishment, looks as if the *Government* were afraid of the *Rabble*; and then their passing without *Answer*, gives a kind of Credit to their Doctrine.

It is not a work for a *Gentleman* to Rake a *Dunghil*, and to gather up the *Peoples Vomit*: But yet out of a Foolish Zeal and *Tenderness* for a *Duty* that hath only given me *Misery* in this *World*, and the *hope of Comfort* in a *Better*; I cannot but endeavour to possess others with the same sense of these Indignities which I have my self; and to lay open this Spirit of *Galumny* and *Slander*: *These uncoverers of their Fathers Nakedness, and Defilers of the Honour of our Common Mother.*

My only Encouragement to This Undertaking, is the Title I have to be believed in it, for I am so far from being *Bribed* into this Office, either by the *Tie of past Obligations*, or by the *prospect of Benefits to come*, That (with Infinite Acknowledgments of his Majesties Grace and Goodness to me) I desire any man to produce another Gentleman in the Kings Dominions, under my Circumstances, that hath suffered so many *Illegal, Arbitrary, and Mean Injustices*, from any of the *Abusers of the Kings Bounty*, as I have done. Insomuch that after a Sentence of *Death*, for his Majesty; betwixt *three* and *Four* years in *Newgate*; and a matter of *Seven and Thirty* years faithful *Service to the Crown*; the Bread hath been taken out of my Mouth, and in a large proportion, shared amongst some of those very People that pursued the late King to the Block: Nor do I look for any more Advantage for the Future. This *Reflection* (by the way) doth not concern any man that is now in Office at Court; and I hope there is enough said already, to acquit

acquit me of any likelihood to be Partial in This matter. I must not slip This Occasion of bringing in a Case of late date; a Case, wherein all men of *Letters* are concerned, and not impertinent in This place, and That being done I will proceed.

Being desirous to inform my self very particularly concerning this late Devilish Plot, I got the best Intelligence I could, as well by Short Notes upon the Trials in Court, as by Word of Mouth from Credible persons that were there present. After this upon perusal of the Printed Trials, I found several Gross Incoherences, (especially in the Latter of them) and very Material Mistakes. As in that of Mr. Langhorn, Fol. 39, and 40. Mr. Lydcats name is used no less than Nine times, as one of the St. Omers Witnesses, instead of Mr. Hall, to his very great prejudice.

Reflecting upon These Errors, together with the almost Inextricable Difficulty of Retriving the Truth, out of such a Confusion of Tautologies, and Forms; the Collection being so Bulky too, and the Particulars lying so scattered, that it was next to the Work of a Resurrection to set every part in its right place: I betook myself to my Friends, my Thoughts, and my Papers, and digested the whole Transaction into an Historical Narrative. And not in Dialogue neither, nor in the words, either of the Bench, the Witnesses, or the Prisoners; but in my Own Stile and Way, and just in the same fashion as I would tell the Story. This Book I entitled, The History of the Plot, &c. made a Legal Assignment of my Right to a Bookseller. I Authorized him to Print it, and he Imprinted it by the Authority of the Author: Some of the Pretenders to the Formal Trials, Arrest my Bookseller, as an Invader of their Propriety, and Threaten him most wonderfully into the Bargain. He puts in Bail to the Action, and there the Squabble rests. They do not complain of any Imitation of their Copy, but take upon them, as if no man else were to write upon That Subject. At this rate, we shall have all Sermons forfeited to the Kings Printers, for Descanting upon Their Bibles; and all Books whatsoever, to the Company of Stationers, because they are made out of the Four and Twenty Letters; and the ABC is Their Copy. What a Scandal is this to the Commonwealth of Letters? What a cramp to Learning and Industry? That if I have a mind to Compile a History, I must go to Forty little Fellows for leave, forsooth, to write the Narrative of the Proceedings upon our Blessed King and Martyr, the brave Earl of Strafford, Archbishop of Canterbury; with a hundred more Instances of the like nature, because some or other of them has lurch'd perhaps, a Copy of Their Trials.

What if a man should write the Battel of Worcester, and the Kings miraculous escape, after the Defeat; must he not mention the Thousand pound
that

that was set upon his Majesties Head, without leave of the Printer that had the Propriety of the Proclamation that offered it? Or if a body would draw up a System of Treason and Sedition; must he go to the Publisher of *Bacon's Government*, for a Licence?

I am the larger, because it is a Publick Case. And take notice, First, that the whole Story is drawn into less than a Sixth part of Their Volume. Secondly, That there is not so much as One Material clause omitted in it. Thirdly, that it is incomparably Plainer, and more Intelligible than the other; beside the many Corrections in it. Fourthly, that it is Eleven Shillings saved; Theirs being rated at Thirteen and Six pence, at the lowest penny, and This only at Half a Crown. And so much for this.

I come now to an Examination of *Two Libels*; the most Audacious and Virulent that have yet passed the Press. The One of them entituled *Omnia Comesta à Bello*; Or, *Bel hath devoured all*. The Other is called, *My Lord Lucas's Speech*. But take notice, that my Exception lies to the Supplement or Appendix; not concerning my self at all with the Speech.

The Former of these Papers is an Allusion to the Story of *Bel and the Dragon*; where the Priests and their Wives came in at a back-door, and consume what was offered to the Idol. It is Printed *BELLO* instead of *BE LO*; and the mistake is a great deal righter than the Meaning: For it was, in Truth, the *WAR* that devoured all: and the Good Old Cause (which was the Foundation of *That War*) was, in effect, no better than a *CHRISTIAN IDOL*. It comes forth, as an Answer to the First of Five pretended Questions; which he sets down at length: and we will speak of them in Order, as far as shall be needful.

Query 1. *Whether the great cause of Impoverishing the Nation, Ruin of Trade, and General Consumption of Comfort, Settlement and Content, which hath brought the Land to a meer Anatomy, be not the Pomp, Pride, Luxury, Exaction and Oppression of the Prelates?* pag. 3. He concludes in the Affirmative. And pag. 4. *The Trading Stock of the Nation (he says) is devoured in this Prelatical Gulph.*

But are we so miserable then? And is the Hierarchy the Cause of all our miseries? Let us compare the *Times* a little, when

when we *had Bishops*, and when we *had None*: For there is no Trial of the *Truth* and *Reason* of things, like *Experience*. From 1558. (when *Queen Elizabeth* came to the *Crown*) to 1641. we had a *Continued Succession* of a *Protestant* (or rather, a *Reformed*) *Prelacy*. And so from 1660. to this present 1679. which is upward of a *hundred Years*. And all this while the *Government* stood firm upon its *Ancient Basis*. The *Gospel* flourished, and the *Subject* enjoyed their *Legal Liberties*, under a *Legal Administration*, both in *Church* and *State*. From 1641. to 1660. *Episcopacy* was out of doors. Do but observe, now, what havock was made in the *State*, both *Ecclesiastical* and *Civil*; in matter of our *Religion*, *Liberties*, and *Properties*, in that *Interval*, of only *Nineteen years*: When an *Ordinance* was of more force than an *Act of Parliament*: And our *Lives*, *Freedoms*, and *Estates*, lay at the *Mercy* of the *Tyrants of Athens*, in a *Derby-house Committee*. But let us yet come cloſer to the *Business*.

I would fain know what these men would be at, that are so desperately unsatisfied with the Condition they are in. Would they be in the days of *Queen Elizabeth* again; or of *King James*; or of the *Late King*? If nothing of this will content them; there is no other choice left, but That of *Rebellion*. For whoſoever *Traces the History* of these *Male-contents*, will find *Deadness of Trade* and *Persecution* to have been their *Constant Complaint*, from the *Reformation it self*, to this *Day*.

After the *Passing* of a *General Sentence* upon the *Bishops*, as the *Authors* of all our *Calamities*, he takes the *whole* to *pieces*. Treating *First*, of the *Revenues*, *Pomp*, and *State* of *Prelates*. And there he tells us of *two Provincial Archbishops*, with their *Princely Retinue*, *Domestique Chaplains*, *Officers of Temporal Tithes*, *Spiritual Officers*, *Vicar General*, *Guardian of the Spiritualities*, *Dean of the Arches*, with all their *under-Officers* and *Attendants*.

To be brief as possible: *First*, Where is the *Crime*, or the *Iniquity* of all This *Pomp* and *State*? Or why should not an *Ecclesiastical Body* have its *Dignities* and *Dependences*, as well as a *Civil Community*? There is no body envies my *Lord Mayor*

his *Sword-bearer*, his *Mace-bearer*, or any other *Servant*, or *Ensign* of his *Preceminence* and *Office*. For beside that the very *Splendor* and *Magnificence*, creates and preserves a *Reverence* for *Authority*, This *Multiplicity* and *Subordination* of *Officers*, is of *absolute Necessity* also; as *subservient* to *Order*, and to the very *Discharge* of his *Function*. The *Second Question* is, *Are these Officers established by Law, or not?* If by *Law*; This clamour is an *Arraignment* of *King*, *Lords*, and *Commons*. *Thirdly*, It is not only a *Legal Establishment*, but an *Establishment* of many *Ages*, and continued without *Interruption*, till both *Church* and *Kingdom* fell together. And then, in *Lieu* of *Bishops*, we had a *Motly Synod* of *State-Pensioners*; *Hirelings*, to poison the *Pulpits* and the *People*; and to decoy the silly multitude out of their *Lives*, *Fortunes*, *Liberties*, *Duties*, and *Religions*: Men kept in *Pay*, to preach *Thanksgiving Sermons*, and to help out at a *Dead lift*, towards the bringing of their *Sovereign* to the *Scaffold*. When they had preached and prayed the *Kingdom* into *Bloud* and *Disobedience*; and held the *Rabble* several *Years* agog, and gaping after the *Blessed Reformation* so graciously promised them: Out comes at last the *False Conception* of their *Directory*. (A kind of *Spiritual Moon-calf*.) But by this time, the *King* was as good as lost; and so they fell presently to sharing of the *Publick Revenues* of *Church* and *State*. They *Dispatch* their *Prince*, enslave the *People*, and there is an end of *That Reformation*: And it is the very Fellow of it, that they would have again. Was it not a *Blessed Exchange* now, to be freed from the *Prelatical Tyranny*, and their *Retinue*, and to have such *Gospel-ministers*? *Generals*, *Majors*, and *Lieutenant Generals*, *Plunderers*, *Sequestrators*, *Decimators*, *Regicides*, and *sacrilegious Usurpers* set up in their stead? This *Cuckoo-Song* of *Forty One, Forty One, Forty One*, over and over; were *Ill-natured* and *Ridiculous*, if the other *Cuckoo-Song* of *Popery* and *Tyranny*, *Popery* and *Tyranny*, and accompanied with the *Former Principles*, over and over, had not made it *absolutely Necessary*.

His next Grievance is, *The Ecclesiastical Courts*: *Court of Faculties*, *Court of Audience*, *Prerogative Court*, *Delegates*, 24 *Bishops* *Diocesan*, with their *Trains*, *Domestick Servants*, *Chaplains*,
Officers,

Officers, and Courts; Chancellors, Registers, Apparators, Proffors, Archdeacons, Commissaries, Officials, Surrogates; Their Lordly Palaces, Ecclesiastical Dignities, Baronies, &c. viis & modis amounting to at least Four Hundred and Fifty Thousand Pounds a Year: Enriching themselves (also) by Ordinations, Institution, and Induction; by making Rural Deans, Licences to Curates, School-masters, Parish-Clerks, Physicians, Midwives, Marriages, by Absolutions, by Commutation of Penance, Probats of Wills, Letters of Administration, Presentments, &c. Pag. 4, 5.

There is enough said already to their Dignities and Officers; and so for their Courts, Fees, and Privileges: They are all of them of Ancient Right and custom. If they envy the Bishops their Revenue, the Common People may as well set up a Levelling Trade again; and fall upon All Estates and conditions of men that are better to live than themselves. Why should such a Lord, Gentleman, Merchant, &c. have so many Hundred Thousand Pounds a Year amongst them; and the Poor ready to starve? Is not money drawn into a few hands here, as well as there; and their abundance, consequently, the Cause of our Want? Nay, the same Reason reaches the King, as well as the Church. So that Gods Providence to Some must be rendred an Injustice to Others. One would think by the Out-cry, that all this went immediately out of the Peoples Pockets: Whereas the Patrimony of the Church is Settled and confirmed by the Great Charter of the English Liberties; as firmly as any Freehold we have. There hath been always this clamour against their Courts: But how was it with us, when they were put down? We had our Triers (in good time) Our Committees for Sequestration, Decimation; money upon the Propositions, the sale of Irish Lands; Our Loans for our Brethren the Scots; Our Committees for Crown and Church Lands: And a hundred other Inventions for the Beggering and Enslaving of us, contrary to Law; by way of Commuting for the Jurisdiction of these Courts, according to Law. Instead of Licences to Preach, or Teach School, we had Sequestrations and Imprisonments for Preaching or Teaching; unless upon the Conditions of Renouncing both the King, and the Church. In stead of Demanding Lawful Oaths, we were up-

on pain of *Plunder, Confiscation, and Imprisonment*, pressed to *Unlawful ones*; as *Covenants, Negative Oaths, Oaths of abjuration*; and not only so, but in direct *Contradiction* to the *Oaths of Allegiance and Canonical Obedience*; to Double-hatch the *Perjury*, in *Defiance* of both our *Implicit and Explicit Obligations*. Here is the short of that Exchange.

Upon his *Computation* of the *Value and Dependences* of the *Ecclesiastical State*, he reckons some *ten Thousand persons*, one way or other, belonging to the *Church*: and at least *450000 l. per ann.* First, In place of the *ten Thousand persons* he speaks of, (who in another place (he says) bring nothing to the Stock) what do you think of an *Army* of *40000 men*, wholly exempt from the *Civil Jurisdiction*; and only Triable by *Martial Law*? *Hist. Indep. pag. 68. Part. 1.* Or in stead of the *Churches* spending *four or five hundred Thousand pounds a Year*, of their *Own*; what do you think of the *Usurpers* spending *above forty Millions, in less than seven Years*, of the *Kingdoms Money*, *Hist. Indep. pag. 8.* But of this hereafter. We had then no longer the *Eye-sore* before us, of the *Prelates Lordly Palaces*; the *Kings Palaces* were likewise seized by the *same hands*; Our *Churches* turned into *Stables*; Our very *Altars* Robbed and Profaned. And, to go through *stitch*, He whips up the *Clergy* for their *Visitations*, their *Paschal Rents* and *Procurations*; Nay, their *Canons, Vicars, Petty-Canons, Singing-men, and Boys, Choristers, Organists, Gospellers, Epistlers, and Vergers* too: And all this, as idly, as if he talked in his sleep.

Here he takes *Breath*, and at the Bottom of *Pag. 5.* promises a *Catalogue of more Families Ruined, more Persons Imprisoned*, and an account of *more money spent*, by the *cruelty* of the *Prelates*, than by *all the Law-suits of England*, all *Payments and Taxes* beside: *Except upon the late Extraordinary Occasion.* This Libel was Printed as I remember, before the *Great Plagua*, and now of late Reprinted over and over, and dated 1679. So that His late *Extraordinary Occasion*, is only a Civiller way of Expressing Our late *Extraordinary Rebellion*. Something shall be said to This By and By.

His 6. page, and a good part of the 7. are a *Rhapsody of Grievances*. Upon the *Kings Restauration*, the *Purchasers of Church Lands* were forced to *Restore* them, without any *Compensation*. He makes it to be a *hard Case*, the *Restoring* of them to the *Right Owner*, but says nothing of the *Tyranny of Taking* them from him. He tells us, that *the Rusty Ecclesiastiques*, that *neither serve our Lord Jesus Christ, nor their Country, but their own Bellies*, (this is the *Complement* he bestows upon them) *hoard up the Money that they have extorted from the Subjects by Fines*, and have brought the *Nation to a Consumption*. I wonder how *Church Leases*, that are commonly the *best Penniworths*, should be a *Greater Grievance* to the *Nation*, than *Others* that are set at *higher rates*, which we hear no complaint of at all. And I do not see how it consists with his charge of *Luxury* upon the *Prelates*, that upon so great *Expence*, there should be no *Circulation* of the *Treasure*. I could tell him of the *Turkish Slaves Redeemed*; Their *Bounties to Ministers Widows*; their *Publick Works*, as the *Oxford Theatre*, the *Reparation of Litchfield Cathedral*, and the *Re-edifying* of such of their *Palaces*, as the *Iniquity* of the late *Times* had *demolished*, &c. To say nothing of the *Common Right* they have to dispose of their *Own*: Or to the *Secret Charities* of many of our *Eminent Churchmen*, who have too much *Honour and Piety*, to make *Proclamation* of it in the *Market Place*. But now comes a *Lamentable Story*.

We have all our Able, Godly, Orthodox Ministers turned out, Ruined, and Beggared, and no manner of supply provided for the Maintenance of them and their Families: And in their Rooms (in many places) a Company of debauched, Illiterate, Superstitious, Profane Priests; which Blind Guides must needs lead them that follow them to Hell, pag. 6.

Let the Reader observe the *Pharisaical* and *Unmannerly Opposition* betwixt his *Ejected Ministers*, and those that were *Introduced*; and then let him consider the *Right*, and the *Condition* both of the *One* and the *Other*. This was the very *Character* the *Schismatics* gave our *Learned, Pious, and Canonical Divines* when they turned them out of their *Living*s by *Hun-*
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dreads, contrary to Law, Honesty, and Humanity itself; and the same character with the other, did They take upon Themselves, that turned them out: The Incumbent Legally Invested in the Benefice; and the other, an Oppressing and Injurious Usurper. And what came of it? The Shepherds were destroyed, and Wolves set to look to the flock: The Unity and simplicity of Evangelical Truth was lost and confounded in a compound of carnal Policy and schism. We had as many Religions as Pulpits; and the Doctrine of Rebellion delivered in them, instead of the Doctrine of salvation.

He goes on, *Damning all the Churchwardens for Persecutors of the Gospel, if they Present according to their Oaths; and for Perjury, if they do not. If a Minister Preach without his Canonical Garment: If any one goes from his own Parish Church to hear a sermon, &c. or work upon a Romish Holiday; if he does not stand up at the Creed; nor Bow at the Name of Jesus; or does not keep off his Hat all the while, he is Presentable.*

Well, and what of all this? There is neither Life nor Limb, in the Case, if a man be Presented. Here is for Decency sake, an Order; and that Order is supported by Authority; and Obedience in Lawful matters, deriving from a Lawful Authority, is an Essential Duty both of a Subject and a Christian. He seems only to have Talked Idle all this while; but now he grows directly Outragious.

We have gotten (saith he) most of the sober Trading part of the Nation discouraged by Citations, Excommunications, Writs to take them Excommunicated; Imprisonments upon Ecclesiastical Accompts; By this means Thousands of Families are already ruined, and many Hundreds are ready to leave the Land, and remove into some other Country, where they may have Liberty of conscience, and Freedom from these devouring Harpies. And then he tells us of our Surplices, Copes, Tippetts, Cringings, out of the Romish Rituals, and a Service collected out of the Romish Books, the Mass Breviary, &c.

Was not This the very Stile of the Petitions and Admonitions to *Queen Elizabeth*? And so down to this Instant. Pray *did we get by it; when to be eased of this insupportable Tyranny,*

Tyranny, the Nation was at the charge of 114000 *l.* a month to an Army? *Hist. Indep.* 66. Above one half of the Revenue of the Kingdom under Sequestration: 300000 *l.* a Year openly divided by the Faction among themselves; beside Private Jobs, and above 20 Millions that they never accounted for, 110000 *l.* a Year in Wages to themselves; 100000 *l.* a Year more in Gratuities. Beside Free Quarter at pleasure: Taxes Innumerable; and all Under-hand Corruptions. Above a million and a half levied by Compositions; and then so cheap and despicable Slaves, in our Persons, that Welsh Prisoners were sold into Plantations at 2 pence a head. For the Truth of all This, I refer my self to Mr. Walker in his *History of Independency*; a Knowing and a Well-read Person in the whole Transaction, and a man of Credit.

As to the Pamphletters *Liberty of Conscience*: He would have the World believe this *Uniformity and rule of Discipline* to be New, and Singular, and the Work only of the Present Age, and Bishops. Whereas, whosoever will consult the History of our Government, will find *This Law* to be a Moderation, which they call a *Persecution*: Especially at a time when the strictness is not executed. Under Edward the VI. the very Depraving of the Common Prayer, or Procuring the Use of any other in Open Prayer, was 10 *l.* to his Majesty for the First Offence; 20 *l.* for the Second: And a Forfeiture of all Goods and Chattels, with Imprisonment during Life for the Third. And in the Fifth of the same King, there was Authorized an Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in these Cases. 2. Mary repealed this Act: and in the First of 2. Elizabeth, 2. Maries Act was repealed, and the Former Act Confirmed; which was afterwards in the five and Thirtieth of that Queens Reign, enforced with more Rigour; to which she was necessitated, by the Turbulence of that Spirit of Schism which still to this day is a working. King James handed it down to the late King, and he continued it, till by a Torrent of Popular violence, the King himself, and the Government were both Over-born.

We have gotten (saith he) a Swarm of Ecclesiastical Officers which the Scriptures never knew, nor Reformed Churches ever owned; A sort of proud Prelates.-- And all manner of Misery to
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Soul and Body. Plague, Fire, Sword, Universal Beggery; and without Seasonable Mercy, the Total Ruine of the whole Kingdom. I am sorry to hear that we have any Officers which the Reformed Churches never owned: For these which we have in this Government at present, we have had for several Ages: and when we had these Officers no longer, we had no longer any Government: And Then it was that all his Plagues beset us. We have made but One Tryal of another way of Government, and it cost us Dear.

Upon a supposed Question over again, concerning the Rise of our Miseries; the *Libellers Answer* is, that the manifold Provoking Sins of the Land; as Adultery, Blasphemy, Swearing, Idolatry, perjury, and contempt of God and Godliness do pull hard with Heaven to bring down desolating judgments: But the nearest Cause of our Impoverishments, ariseth from the particulars aforementioned.] He should have done well to have put in Rebellion too; which hath all other sins in the Belly of it. But That is a Thing these People do not love to touch upon. To the rest I have spoken more than enough already, and that which follows, is only an Impertinent Citation of Reflections upon *Ill Bishops*, whence he would draw an Inference that we are to have None at all.

The Second of the Five *Quarries* before mentioned is This, [Whether since all other Reformed Churches in Europe did upon the First Reformation and Departure from Popery cast out all *Diocesan Bishops*, Name and Thing, Root and Branch, as an Office altogether Popish; together with all their Hierarchical Appurtenances; And to this day esteem them no otherwise; why did not, or doth not England also do the like.] So that by Hook or by Crook, it seems, the *Bishops* must down, either for Oppression, or for Popery; after the Example of all other Reformed Churches. We may see by This, what kind of Reformation we are to expect from Those People that account the Church of England to be Popish. We should be presently a tearing down *Altars* again, demolishing of Churches, Riffing of Colleges, and Murthering of *Jesus Christ* over again in *Effigie*; which is no way to be effected but by another Rebellion. The Model of the best

best Reformed Churches, was the Juggle of the Covenant; and the very Condition of the Scots coming in the Second time, was our Owning of their Kirk for the best Reformed; and declaring for a Reformation of the English Church, according to the Scottish Model. The Reformation doubtless was a Glorious Work; but there have been very Ill Things done under that Pretext, and in the way to it: And it is no New Thing for God to be in the End, and the Devil in the Means. Beside that, the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England is so pure, and Apostolical already, that there is no need of Double Refining it.

His Third Query is a Frank Proposal, without any more ado, of taking all the Church Lands into the Crown; and very Courteously he offers the Poor Cavaliers a Snip in the Booty. Does he consider, that after This Violence, an Englishman hath nothing left him that is sure and sacred? And that as much as in him lies, he destroys us in our Liberties, Consciences, and Estates, all at a Blow. The Patrimony of the Church is First, a Gift to God, and appropriated to his Service; and therefore not to be touched: (They have Robbed me, saith God, in the Prophet Malachy.) Or if it may, no man is sure of the Estate he possesses, by the same Reason: For there is no better Title in Nature, than a Deed of Gift. Secondly, it is settled and Confirmed by Magna Charta; which says, that the Church of England shall be free; and shall have all her whole Rights and Liberties inviolable, (for ever.) Thirdly, the King binds himself by his Coronation Oath, to preserve unto the Bishops, and to the Churches committed to their charge, all Canonical Privileges, and due Law and Justice; and to protect and defend them, as every good King ought to be a Protector and Defender of the Bishops and Churches under his Government. So that here is Sacrilege, Common Right, and Perjury in the Case.

His Fourth Query is, [Whether in those Kingdoms and States where Prelacy is extirpated, and a Presbytery only retained, there be not as Godly, Able, Orthodox Preachers, &c. and as good Subjects, as where Bishops are retained.] His Last Query is only a Political Prospect upon the Power of France, and nothing to the point in Question.] To which I answer First, That I

know no such Kingdoms as he speaks of. *Secondly*, What if under a *Presbyterial Government*, any Subject of *That State* should move *vice versâ*, for an *Episcopal* there as he does *here* for a *Presbyterial*? How would it be taken? If there may be as good *Preachers* and *Subjects* on the *One* side, as on the *Other*; why should we change the Government, to be only where we were? *Fourthly*, If *Two Arch-bishops*, and *24 Bishops* *Dio-cesan* be so great an *Oppression*; what would become of us in a *Presbytery*, when we should have *9852 Popes*, in stead of them? (*One in Every Parish.*) *Fifthly*, The *Presbyterial* principles are purely *Jesuitical*; and that would be but the settling of *Popery* under another Name. *Sixthly*, we have it upon Experiment, that the People will never indure them, nor *They*, the *Government*.

To come now to that Libel, which bears the Title of my Lord *Lucas's* speech: The Name of that Noble Lord is only made use of for a Cover to those Scandals upon the King, which to have saved the last drop of blood in his Veins, he would not have been guilty of. It is true, that Offence was taken to the Liberty of the Speech it self, and a Censure passed upon it; but it is not presently for every Mutinous Incendiary to Arraign a Proceeding of Parliament, and to call it *Barbarous Usage*, with other rude, and very unmannerly Expressions, in the Preface to the Reader. He says that *God hath taken him from an Ingrateful Generation*. And he says right in that; for undoubtedly there never was the fellow of it upon the face of the Earth. The *Kings Friends* (who are the only people Oppressed) they sit still, in *Hope* and *Patience*; while his *Enemies* enjoy both the *Advantage* of the others *Losses*, and the *Reward* of their *Services*; Those are the People that *Complain*. This *Faction* to whom the King hath forgiven his *Fathers Blood* and *his Own*. (*His Own*, (*I say*) for they that shot at him and *miss*, are as *Guilty*, as if they had struck him to the *Heart*; and they that *advised* it, as those that did the *Execution*;) These are the People, that in requital for their *forfeited Lives*, *Liberties*, and *Fortunes*, which his Majesty
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frankly gave then; are now laying the same Train for *This King*, by which They ruined the *Last*. The Bold Indignities of this pamphlet are such, as a Loyal Subject cannot Honestly so much as recite: It is neither better nor worse than a *Formal Charge* upon the King in *Five and Twenty Articles*, dispersed with all the Malice, and Industry imaginable. The Scope of it is to possess the People with an Opinion, that the King designs the bringing in of *Popery*, and an *Arbitrary power*; with an Application of several particulars, to those Ends. Now if these *Affronts* pass, without either *punishment*, or *reply*, who can blame the simple Multitude that know nothing more than what they read in a Pamphlet, for giving credit to them? And when they are once tainted with that deadly *Jealousie*, who can blame them again, for doing *ill things*, that know no better? The Time is almost come, when honest men shall be put to death, and the very *Murtherers* think that they do *God good Service*. This was the mistaken zeal of the late Times; and we are even ready for it once again. The *Two Calumnies* whereupon these People lay the greatest *stresses*, are *First*, a pretended *Apprehension* of an *Arbitrary power*; and *Secondly*, of an *Inclination* to favour *Popery*.

The Imputation of any Disposition, or Design in his Majesty that now is, in favour of either *Tyranny* or *Popery*, is so groundless and incredible to any man that hath but his Eyes in his head, that it would not be worth a Page of Paper, to shew the Error of it, were it not that we are delivered up to the *Delusion* of believing things impossible, and discerning things invisible; and yet as *Blind as Moles*, to matters of clear and evident *Demonstration*.

With what Face can any man pretend an *Apprehension* of *Tyranny* from *this Prince*, whose very *Mercy* and *Bounty*, by the Extreme abuse of it, hath created his *misfortune*? Nay, the most spiteful of his Enemies cannot but acknowledge that there doth not live any man that hath less of Gall and Rancour in his Nature: Besides the *Experiment* his greatest *Adversaries* have had of his *Goodness* in Common with the rest of his Subjects upon the *Crisis* of his *Restoration*. For when

he might have made himself as *absolute* as he would; when he had his *Foes* under his *Feet*; and some reasons of *State*, perhaps, to lay a *former Foundation* of his *Future Security*; his *Tenderness of nature* did yet so far prevail upon him, above all other Considerations, that he quitted all those *Advantages*; he *Gave*, and *Forgave* all that was possible; to shew how much he prized a *Dominion* over the *Hearts* of his People, above That of their *Bodies* and *Estates*.

Touching his *affection* to the *Religion* of the Church of *England*; since it hath pleased God in his Infinite Wisdom to permit that his Majesty should be Calumniated upon that point; it is a singular Providence, that this should happen in a *Juncture*, when the plain matter of *Fact*, and the *Naked History* of his *Royal Proceedings*, may suffice to the most prejudicate, and the most obstinate of his Enemies as an *Unanswerable Confutation*. It is every day more and more artificially *Insinuated* and *Improved*; especially since the Discovery of the *late horrid Design*, and particularly in the *Libel last mentioned*, as if his Majesty were not so careful and zealous for the *Suppressing* and *Preventing of Popery*, and for the *Punishing of Delinquents*, as is needful for the security of his Government. Nay, there are some so daring, as to take them in *Hint*, and *Mystery*, to intimate the very *Countenancing* of the *Plot it self*. If the Proceeding be not altogether so *quick* and *sanguinary* as some would have it, we shall only say this; that Those of all men, have the least Colour to complain of his Majesties want of *Rigour*, that stand indebted already for their *Heads*, and for their *Fortunes*, unto his *Grace* and *Mercy*.

As to his Opinion of the Church of *Rome*, his Majesty hath given the World so many and so ample Evidences of his dislike of that Communion; that every mans *Conscience* as well as *Reason*, cannot but discharge him upon that point. It cannot be imagined, that in his *late Troubles* and *Exile*, he wanted either *Arguments*, or *Solicitations*, either in point of *State* or of *Religion*; and the most plausible too, that could be found out, to work upon either his *Conscience*, or his *Necessities*: And yet no *Temptations*, either on the *One hand*, or on the *Other*, had
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any farther Operation upon his Majesties Judgment, than by causing a stricter Enquiry into the Subject in debate, to confirm him still more and more in the Truth of his Profession. In so much, that in the lowest and most hopeles State of his Distresses, he chose rather to abide all Extremities, than to depart, in any Tittle, from the Faith of the Reformed Communion.

Now his Majesty having given this Earnest of his stedfastness to the Religion of the Church of England during his Banishment; and shewing that neither Fear nor Despair could shake him in his Resolutions; it were a strange thing for him now to relinquish That Cause in Opposition to his Interest; which when it might have turned to his Temporal Advantage, no Persecution or Flattery could ever prevail upon him to do. I might add to all This, that he hath steered the same Course in all his Devotions both Publick and Private, and that the Maintenance of This Church hath been Undeniably the Scope of all his Deliberations, and Councils, in all our Religious Concernments, since his Blessed Return.

But it is not enough, in all Cases, for a Prince to be Tender and Innocent, in the matter of Religion; Witness the late Pious, and yet Unfortunate Prince. For wheresoever this Incantation takes place, the Sinews of Government are Loosened, the Sacredness of Order Dissolved, and all Obligations Cancelled, as well Moral as Divine. And not only so; but the very Shadow and Imagination of it, frights people into Lakes and Precipices, and transports them with Panick Terrors, into the Execution of the very Mischiefs they fear. So that his Majesty hath two main Difficulties to encounter at once: The One, to Master the Plot it self; the Other, to Temper and Sweeten the Passions of men, zealous in the contrary Extreme: That no Inconvenience may arise from their Misapprehension of Things another way.

According to these Measures, his Majesty hath governed his Course throughout the whole Tract of This Affair; leaving no means unattempted, that might probably give light to the Bottom of This Tragical Design: He hath given all sorts of Encouragement to Informations, by Countenance, Protection, and Reward:

Reward: The *Depositions* have been formally taken before his Majesty, and his *Privy Council*; and the *Evidences* strictly weighed and examined; and from thence afterwards heartily recommended, and faithfully transmitted to the *Two Houses of Parliament*; as the most Rational Method, for the *Common Satisfaction* both of King and People.

Neither hath his Majesty been wanting on his *Own part* in a *Vigorous Concurrence* with the *Two Houses*, to do all that in him lay, toward the *Suppressing of Popery*, the *seizing and securing of Popish Recusants*; and providing more effectually, by the best means that could be devised, for the *Maintenance and Establishment of our Religion*: Having issued out divers *Proclamations*, and done several other *Publick Acts*, upon the Motion and Advice of his *Two Houses of Parliament*, to the *Ends* aforesaid; even to the taking away from the *Popish Lords* their *Ancient Right of Session* in the *House of Peers*; and disabling all *Papists* whatsoever, to all purposes whatsoever, from any *Advantages* in the Government.

And if it be not yet enough, that in this *Dangerous Juncture*, his Majesty hath walked *hand in hand*, and kept pace with his *Two Houses of Parliament*; it may be justly affirmed, that he hath in some degree even *supererogated* in *This* matter; and added an *Excess of Affection* to the *Conscientious Discharge* of his *Princely Care and Function*. Of this, we might give several Instances; but one shall serve for all. In his Majesty's *Speech to both Houses of Parliament*, on *Saturday, Nov. 8. 1678.* where he quickens the *Two Houses* themselves, in these words; *I do desire you* (saith his Majesty) *to think on some ready means for Conviction of Popish Recusants, and to expedite your Counsels, that the World may see our Unanimity; and that I may have the Opportunity to let you see how ready I am to do any thing that may give satisfaction.*

After this *Demonstrative Clearness* on his Majesty's side, let us cast an *Impartial eye* the *Other way*, and so conclude. Was not *This* the very *Charge* upon the late King? And was there ever any Prince that lived more faultless? Was not the *Care* of the
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Protestant Religion, pretended; and was not all Religion, in a manner, subverted? Was not the Kings Honour and Safety, the Pretext of a Solemn Covenant? And was he not delivered up by the same Covenant, to his very Executioners? What a Clamour there was about Magna Charta, the English Liberties; and a Reformation, only of some Excrescences (as they called them) in the Church and State? And did not this specious Flourish conclude in a Total Extinction of Law, Freedom, and Government? Were not the same Arguments used Then as Now? Are not the same Artifices of Libelling Authority practised Now, which were Then? And are not the people poisoned the same way this Year that they were the Last? In short; Is not Highgate the way to St. Albans still? So certainly are we now running the same Stage over again. Was there not a Time when St. Pauls was turned into a Garrison? When Apprentices Cancelled their own Indentures, and had them renewed again by an Ordinance? When for fear of Redcoats in the Clouds, the Credulous Multitude brought them, like Egyptian Plagues, into their very Pots and Dishes. Oh! but do you think (they cry) that These Godly people will ever touch the King? How many well-meaning People thought the same thing before, and yet contributed to the destroying of their Sovereign; not knowing what they did. Be not deluded.

Immediately after the sending of what is above-written, to the Press, comes out a Pamphlet, entituled, *Englands Safety, Or the Two Unanimous Votes of the last Good Parliament, concerning the D. of York being a Papist, &c.*

I have so great a Reverence, as well for the Honour of the Constitution of Parliaments, as for the Personal Loyalty of the Members of our late Great Representative, that I cannot but take notice of the Abuse, which is First, put upon That Illustrious Convention it self; and afterward, upon the People, in This Libel. It makes the House of Commons to be the Parliament: But neither did those worthy Gentlemen claim to themselves a Full Parliamentary power, to the Exclusion of any other Legal and Essential Concurrence: Nor will they take it well

well to be so much *Mis-represented*. And then, it is as great an *Abuse*, on the *Other* hand, to the whole *Nation*: For if this *Opinion* be swallowed once, the *People* will be apt to take *Ordinances* again, for *Laws*. So that the *Title* is in a great *Mistake* upon *That Point*: And now that the *Reader* may not incur almost as *Great* a one, on the *other* hand, in *another*; Let it be observed, that the *Woman* in whose *Name* this Pamphlet is published, is so far from being a *Well-Willer* to the *Kings Person* or *Government*, that from the time of his Majesties *Restau-ration*, it hath been her *Constant Business* to promote all *Spiteful* and *Scandalous Books*, and *Papers*, against both *Church* and *State*.

To these *Pretended Votes*, I can say nothing, whether *True*, or *False*; but This I am sure of, that *Debates* of that *Solemnity*, and *Importance*, ought not to be made *Publick*; that nothing can be more *Derogatory* to the *Dignity* of that *Great Body*; than (as the *Fashion* hath been of late) for every *Pedant*, and *Mechanick*, to set up the *Trade* of *Teaching Parliament-men* their *Lessons*.

The Subject of his Royal Highnesses's *Succession* to the *Crown*, is made the *Common Theme* of the *Press*: And I do not presume to *Reason* the matter, either *Pro* or *Con*, as it is a *Case* out of my *Province*: But still I am at *Liberty* to assert the *Duty* of a *Free-born*, and of a *Faithful Subject*; and to *affirm*, that I have not found any one *Argument* in any of these *Libels*, which in a *Natural Consequence* does not likewise reach the *King*: Whom *God preserve*, and in *Mercy* keep all his *Subjects* in *Due Obedience*.

T H E E N D.

